

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 IOE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00  
USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05  
EB-08 COME-00 FRB-03 OMB-01 TRSE-00 DHA-05 MCE-00  
ACDA-07 NRC-05 OES-07 FEAE-00 ERDA-05 /118 W  
-----055261 251911Z /44

O R 251255Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3248  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
\*AMPXBASSY NAIROBI 2854  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I T S E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 LAGOS 9694

FROM USDEL

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG, SF  
SUBJECT: DRAFT DECLARATION OF ANTI-APARTHEID CONFERENCE

REF: USUN 2630

1. SUMMARY: CANADIANS PRESENTED COPY OF FIRST TWO SECTIONS OF  
REVISED DRAFT DECLARATION (PARAS 1 - 16 OF DRAFT) AT WESTERN FIVE  
MEETING THURSDAY MORNING. CONFERENCE DRAFTING COMMITTEE WILL MEET  
AGAIN AT 10 A.M. TO DISCUSS REMAINDER OF DRAFT AND PROBABLY  
REVIEW AGAIN PORTIONS OF FIRST TWO SECTIONS. US, UK, FRG AND  
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FRANCE POINTED OUT TO CANADIANS DIFFICULTIES WITH NEW DRAFT AND  
SUGGESTED SEVERAL LANGUAGE CHANGES. WESTER FIVE WILL MEET AGAIN  
AT 1:15 TO HEAR CANADIAN REPORT OF THIS MORNING'S DRAFTING COMMITTEE  
MEETING AND DISCUSS FURTHER STRATEGY. AMBASSADOR YOUNG WILL  
ADDRESS CONFERENCE TODAY.  
END SUMMARY.

2. AT WESTERN FIVE MEETING THURSDAY MORNING (AUGUST 25)  
CANADIANS PRESENTED REVISED TEXT OF FIRST TWO SECTIONS OF  
DRAFT DECLARATION. TEXT (SEE BELOW) WAS HAMMERED OUT AT DIFFICULT  
MEETING OF DRAFTING COMMITTEE OF STEERING COMMITTEE WEDNESDAY  
AFTERNOON AND EVENING. DRAFTING COMMITTEE WILL MEET AGAIN  
THURSDAY AT 10:00 TO WORK OUT REMAINDER OF DRAFT AND PERHAPS  
REWRITE PARTS  
OF FIRST TWO SECTIONS.

3. CANADIANS REPORTED THAT HARRIMAN, SALIM  
END, TO SOMEWHAT  
LESSER EXTENT, CHISSATM HAD WMIKEDWYARD TO DEVELOP DOCUMENT  
WHICH COULD ACHIEVE CONSENSUS. HARRIMAN, ACCORDING TO  
CANADIAN DELEGATE VERONA EDELSTEIN WAS "BEING HELPFUL TO THE  
POINT OF BEING RUDE TO THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS." THE  
ATMOSPHERE IN THE COMMITTEE WAS "QUITE EMOTIONAL" WITH CUBANS  
AND EAST GERMANS JOINING SOUTH AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS  
IN FIGHTING FOR TOUGHER RHETORIC AND ACTION. KEY QUESTIONS OF  
CHAPTER VII, NUCLEAR COOPERATION, AND LOANS AND INVESTMENTS  
WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THIS MORNINGS' MEETING.

4. IN PREPARATION FOR TODAY'S MEETING OF DRAFTING COMMITTEE.  
THE BRITISH, GERMANS, FRENCH AND WE POINTED OUT TO CANADIANS  
EXCESSIVE RHETORIC AND UNSUBSTANTIATED STATEMENTS IN NEW  
DRAFT (I.E., LAST SENTENCE OF PARA 5 IN DRAFT BELOW). WE  
ALSO RECOGNIZED POSITIVE ELEMENTS SUCH AS REFERENCE IN PARA  
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2 TO SELF-DETERMINATION "OF ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA."

5. ESTERN FIVE ALSO FORMULATED SEVERAL OTHER SUGGESTIONS FOR  
CANADIANS TO PRESENT IN DRAFTING COMMITTEE. WHILE WE AGREE IT  
WOULD BE BEST IF NUCLEAR QUESTION COULD BE OMITTED AND  
LANGUAGE RESTRICTED TO ARMS EMBARGO ONLY THIS PROBABLY CANNOT  
BE AHCIEVED. THUS DURING OUR MEETING, AN ALTERNATE FORMULATION  
EVOLVED CONCERNING MILITARY AND NUCLEAR COOPERATION (PARA 20  
OF REFTEL): "THE CONFERENCE SOLEMNLY CALLS UPON ALL STATES TO  
CEASE ANY SALE OR SUPPLY OF ARMS AND MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO  
SOUTH AFRICA AND ANY ASSISTANCE TO SOUTH AFRICA IN P  
S MIVVZADH  
BUILD-UP. IT CALLS FOR THE CESSATION OF ANY ASSISTANCE OR  
COOPERATION ENABLING SOUTH AFRICA TO OBTAIN NUCLEAR WEAPON  
CAPABILITY AND TO REVIEW ANY OTHER NUCLEAR COOPERATION WITH  
A VIEW TOWARD ENDING IT. "BRITISH AND GERMANS EXPRESSED  
MISGIVINGS ABOUT PHRASE "WITH A VIEW TOWARD ENDING IT." BUT  
RECOGNIZED THAT SENTIMENT AT CONFERENCE PROBABLY MADE MILDER  
FORMULATION UNACCEPTABLE. COMMENT: THIS NEW FORMULATION  
COMMITTS US TO NO MORE THAN REVIEW, WHCIH IS ALREADY UNDERWAY,  
OF OUR NUCLEAR PROGRAM WITH SOUTH AFRICA. END COMMENT

6. WESTERN GROUP AGREED TO MEET AT 1:15 TO HEAR CANADIAN  
REPORT OF DRAFTING COMMITTEE MEETING AND TO DISCUSS  
FURTHER STRATEGY.

7. AMBASSADORHEMUIO WILL ADDRESS CONFERENCE TODAY, HOPEFULLY  
ATAMORNING SESSION. HIS SPEECH MAY SLIP TO APEGH  
BBI BECAUSE  
OF LARGE NUMBER OF SPEAKERS SCHEDULED THIS MORNING. USDEL  
WILL TRANSCRIBE ADDRESS AND SEND TEXT BY IMMEDIATE CABLE TO  
DEPT.

8. TEXT OF FIRST TWO SECTIONS OF REVISED DRAFT DECLARATION  
OF LAGOS CONFERENCE FOLLOWS BELOW:

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ACDA-07 NRC-05 OES-07 FEAE-00 ERDA-05 /118 W  
-----056619 251912Z /44

O R 251255Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3249  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
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FROM USDEL

BEGIN TEXT

PREAMBLE

THE WORLD CONFERENCE FOR ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID ORGANIZED BY THE UNITED NATIONS, IN CO-OPERATION WITH THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA - MEETING IN LAGOS, NIGERIA, FROM 22 TO 26 AUGUST 1977 WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF REPRESENTATIVES OF 102 GOVERNMENTS, INTER-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, - NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, AS WELL AS A NUMBER OF OTHER PROMINENT INDIVIDUALS - ADOPTS THE FOLLOWING  
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DECLARATION.

THE CONFERENCE LISTENED WITH GREAT ATTENTION TO OPENING STATEMENTS BY THE HEAD OF STATE OF NIGERIA, THE PRESIDENT OF ZAMBIA, THE PRIME MINISTER OF NORWAY, AND HEADS OF A NUMBER OF UNITED NATIONS BODIES AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, AS WELL AS THE LEADERS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF SOUTH AFRICA, NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE.

(1) THE WORLD CONFERENCE FOR ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID REITERATES THE UNIVERSAL ABHORRENCE OF APARTHEID AND THE DETERMINATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO SECURE ITS SPEEDY ELIMINATION.

THE CONFERENCE REAFFIRMS SUPPORT AND SOLIDARITY FOR THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THEIR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, AND THE COMMITMENT OF GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES OF THE WORLD TO TAKE ACTIONS TO CONTRIBUTE TOWARDS THE TOTAL ERADICATION OF APARTHEID. THIS CONFERENCE IS A CONFERENCE OF CONSCIENCE AND ACTION.

(2) APARTHEID, THE POLICY OF INSTITUTIONALIZED RACIST DOMINATION AND EXPLOITATION, IMPOSED BY A MINORITY REGIME IN SOUTH AFRICA, IS A FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. IT RESTS ON THE DISPOSSESSION, PLUNDER, EXPLOITATION AND SOCIAL DEPRIVATION OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE SINCE 1652 BY COLONIAL SETTLERS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS. IT IS A CRIME AGAINST THE CONSCIENCE AND DIGNITY OF MANKIND. IT HAS RESULTED IN IMMENSE SUFFERING AND INVOLVED THE FORCIBLE MOVING OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE FROM THEIR HOMES; THE IMPRISONMENT OF MILLIONS OF AFRICANS UNDER SPECIAL LAWS RESTRICTING THEIR FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT; AND THE DENIAL OF ELEMENTARY HUMAN RIGHTS TO THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION AS WELL AS THE VIOLATION OF

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THE INELIENABLE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION OF ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF SOTH AFRICA. THIS INHUMAN POLICY HAS BEEN ENFORCED BY RUTHLESS MEASURES OF REPRESSION AND HAS LED TO ESCALATING TENSION AND CONFLICT.

(3) THE APARTHEID REGIME IN SOUTH AFRICA IS THE BASTION OF RACISM AND COLONIALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE MAIN OPPONENT OF THE EFFORTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO PROMOTE SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE IN THE AREA.

(4) IT HAS CONTINUED ILLEGALLY TO OCCUPY THE TERRITORY OF NAMIBIA, FOR WHICH THE UNITED NATIONS HAS A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY, AND EXTENDED APARTHEID TO THAT INTERNATIONAL TERRITORY.

(5) IT HAS SUSTAINED AND SUPPORTED THE ILLEGAL RACIST MINORITY REGIME IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA, AND HAS CONSTANTLY RESORTED TO THREATS AGAINST NEIGHBOURING INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES AND VIOLATIONS OF THEIR SOVEREIGNTY. SINCE THE END OF COLONIAL RULE IN ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE, IT HAS ENGAGED IN A SERIES OF ACTS OF AGGRESSION AGAINST NEIGHBOURING STATES AND HAS CONNIVED AT ACTS OF AGGRESSION BY THE ILLEGAL REGIME IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA. ITS MASSIVE INVASION OF ANGOLA AND CONSTANT VIOLATIONS OF THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ZAMBIA HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED BY THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. IT CONTINUES TO VIOLATE THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF NEIGHBOURING INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES.

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-----056699 251913Z /44

O R 251255Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3250  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
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(6) THE POLICIES AND ACTIONS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME HAVE, ALREADY, CREATED AN EXPLOSIVE SITUATION IN THE WHOLE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AND EVENTS HAVE MOVED INTO A PHASE OF AN ACUTE CRISIS. THE APARTHEID REGIME HAS INTENSIFIED ITS MILITARY ACTIVITIES ALONG THE BORDERS OF INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES. NEW MILITARY BASES ARE BEING CONSTRUCTED AND EXPANDED. SOUTH AFRICA IS REINFORCING ITS ENORMOUS MILITARY ARSENAL AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE NOW WITHIN ITS REACH. THE POSSESSION OF THIS ARSENAL AND THE ACQUISITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS BY THE RACIST AND AGGRESSIVE REGIME WOULD CONSTITUTE A MENACE TO ALL AFRICAN STATES AND TO THE WHOLE WORLD. THE WHOLE REGION OF AFRICA SOUTH OF THE EQUATOR  
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HAS BEEN PUT UNDER THE SURVEILLANCE OF THE APARTHEID MILITARY MACHINE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

## II.

(7) THE WORLD CONFERENCE RECALLS WITH ADMIRATION THE VALIANT EFFORTS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE FOR MANY DECADES FOR AN END TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NON-RACIAL SOCIETY. BY THEIR COURAGEOUS STRUGGLE AT HEAVY SACRIFICE, THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THEIR NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, HAVE MADE A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE PURPOSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS;

(8) THE UNITED NATIONS HAS SOLEMNLY RECOGNIZED THE LEGITIMACY OF THE STRUGGLE OF SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE FOR FREEDOM AND HUMAN EQUALITY, AND FOR ENABLING ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE, COLOUR OR CREED, TO PARTICIPATE AS EQUALS IN THE DETERMINATION OF THE DESTINY OF THE NATION.

IT HAS PROCLAIMED THAT THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TOWARDS THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THEIR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, AND TOWARDS THOSE IMPRISONED, RESTRICTED OR EXILED FOR THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID.

(9) THE WORLD CONFERENCE PLEDGES ITS FULL SUPPORT TO THE LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE AND URGES GOVERNMENTS, ORGANIZATION AND INDIVIDUALS TO PROVIDE ALL APPROPRIATE ASSISTANCE TO THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THEIR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, IN THEIR JUST STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND HUMAN EQUALITY.

(10) THE WORLD CONFERENCE REJECTS ALL ASPECTS OF THE APARTHEID  
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SYSTEM, INCLUDING THE IMPOSITION OF "BANTUSTANS" WHICH DIVIDE THE POPULATION, DEPRIVE THE AFRICAN PEOPLE OF THEIR CITIZENSHIP AND INALIENABLE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION, AND DENY THEM A JUST SHARE OF THE WEALTH OF THE COUNTRY. THERE CAN BE NO INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION WITH BANTUSTANS AND OTHER ENTITIES BASED ON RACISM.

(11) THE CONFERENCE CONDEMNS ALL MANOEUVRES BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME AIMED AT PRESEFVING RACIST DOMINATION AND THE SYSTEM OF EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND IN SOUTERN AFRICA AS A WHOLE.

(12) IT DECLARES THAT SOUTH AFRICA BELONGS TO ALL ITS INHABITANTS IRRESEPECTIVE OF RACE, COLOUR OR CREED AND THAT ALL HAVE THE RIGHT TO LIVE AND WORK THERE IN CONDITIONS OF FULL EQUALITY. THE SYSTEM OF RACIST DOMINATION MUST BE REPLACED BY MAJORITY RULE AND THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL THE PEOPLE ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY IN ALL PHASES OF NATIONAL LIFE, IN FREELY DETERMINING THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHARACTER OF THEIR SOCIETY AND IN FREELY DISPOSTING OF THEIR NATURAL RESOURCES.

(13) THE WORLD CONFERENCE DECLARES THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME MUST:

(A) TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO TOTALLY ELIMINATE THE POLICY AND PRACTICE OF APARTHEID AND GRANT TO ALL ITS INHABITANTS EQUAL RIGHTS, INCLUDING EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS;

(B) TERMINATE ALL MEASURES, UNDER WHATEVER NAME, WHICH FORCIBLY SEPARATE ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION ON THE BASIS OF RACE;

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O R 251255Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3251

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FROM USDEL

(C) DISMANTLE THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID AND THE POLICY  
OF BANTUSTANIZATION, AND ABROGATE ALL RACIALLY  
DISCRIMINATORY LAWS AND MEASURES;

(D) END REPRESSION AGAINST THE OPPONENTS OF APARTHEID,  
AND IMMEDIATELY END UNCONDITIONALLY RELEASE ALL  
PERSONS IMPRISONED, RESTRICTED OR  
BANISHED FOR THEIR OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID;

(E) ENABLE ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA TO EXERCISE,  
ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY, THEIR INALIENABLE RIGHT  
TO SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE;

(F) END ITS ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA AND COMPLY WITH  
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THE RELEVANT SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS, PARTICULARLY  
RESOLUTION 385 (1976);

(G) COMPLY WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS ON THE



QUESTION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA, AND FULLY IMPLEMENT SANCTIONS  
AGAINST THE ILLEGAL RACIST MINORITY REGIME;

(H) STOP, IMMEDIATELY ALL AGGRESSIVE ACTS AND THREATS  
AGAINST THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY  
OF AFRICAN STATES; AND

(I) CEASE IMMEDIATELY ITS MILITARY AND NUCLEAR BUILD-UP  
WHICH CONSTITUTES A SERIOUS DANGER TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND  
SECURITY.

(14) THE WORLD CONFERENCE RECOGNIZES THAT THE CONTINUATION  
OF THE PREVAILING SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND IN SOUTHERN  
AFRICA AS A WHOLE, WILL INEVITABLY LEAD TO GREATER CONFLICT  
IN AFRICA WITH ENORMOUS REPERCUSSIONS TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE  
AND SECURITY.

(15) THE WORLD CONFERENCE CONDEMS THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME  
FOR ITS RUTHLESS REPRESSIVE MEASURES WHICH ARE DESIGNED TO  
PERPETUATE WHITE RACIST DOMINATION. IT RECOGNIZES AND RESPECTS  
THE INALIENABLE RIGHT OF THE OPPRESSED SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE AND  
THEIR NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT TO RESORT TO ALL AVAILABLE  
AND APPROPRIATE MEANS OF THEIR CHOICE TO SECURE THEIR FREEDOM,  
AND THE NEED TO ASSIST THEM TO ACHIEVE THIS. IT DECLARES  
THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS AN INESCAPABLE DUTY TO  
TAKE ALL NECESSARY MEASURES TO ENSURE THE TRIUMPH OF FREEDOM  
AND HUMAN EQUALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

(16) IT FURTHER CALLS UPON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO  
ASSIST STATES WHICH HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED TO PRESSURE THREATS  
AND ACTS OF AGGRESSION BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME BECAUSE OF  
THEIR OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID AND IMPLEMENTATION OF UNITED  
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NATIONS RESOLUTIONS FOR ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID.

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## Message Attributes

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**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
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**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** DRAFT DECLARATION OF ANTI-APARTHEID CONFERENCE  
**TAGS:** PORG, SF, CA  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/38697053-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
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22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009